

Message Text

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PAGE 01 LUSAKA 00119 210206Z

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ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-14 SAM-01 SP-02 H-01 INR-07 INRE-00

SSO-00 /030 W

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O 190830Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2650

S E C R E T LUSAKA 0119

STADIS//////////

LIMDIS

FOR AF ASST SECY SCHAUFLE

EO 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR AO CU EG SA UR US ZA OREP (BOWEN, DAVID)

SUBJECT: VISIT OF CODEL BOWEN TO ZAMBIA: DISCUSSION OF ANGOLA

1. SUMMARY. DURING THREE HOUR STOPOVER BETWEEN PLANES IN LUSAKA JAN 17, CONGRESSMAN BOWEN MANAGED TO SQUEEZE IN LIVELY 45 MINUTE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON ANGOLA WITH PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER MARK CHONA AT STATE HOUSE. CODEL STRESSED NEED FOR AFRICAN MODERATES LIKE KAUNDA TO MAKE FORTHRIGHT PUBLIC APPEALS DIRECTLY TO UNITED STATES IF AMERICAN CONGRESS AND PUBLIC TO BE MOVED TO LEGISLATE ASSISTANCE FOR FNLA/UNITA. CHONA COUNTERED THAT BLATANT SOVIET/CUBAN AGGRESSION SHOULD BE JUSTIFICATION IN ITSELF TO AROUSE AMERICA TO EXTEND ASSISTANCE, YET HE SERIOUSLY QUESTIONED ABILITY OF WEST TO ACT PROMPTLY AND IN ADEQUATE MEASURE. BOTH CODEL AND CHONA SEEMED TO BENEFIT FROM PLAIN AND AT TIMES BLUNT EXCHANGE. CODEL LOOKING TO EARLY MEETING WITH ASST SECY SCHAUFLE ON RETURN.
END SUMMARY.

2. CODEL MADE FOLLOWING MAIN POINTS TO CHONA:

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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 00119 210206Z

AMERICAN PUBLIC NOT AS WELL INFORMED AS IT COULD BE ABOUT

COMPLEXITIES OF ANGOLA TO MAKE INTELLIGENT, SYMPATHETIC JUDGMENT ON ASSISTANCE NEEDS. PRESIDENT KAUNDA SHOULD ADD HIS VOICE TO PRESIDENT MOBUTU'S AND OTHER AFRICAN MODERATES IN PUBLICIZING ANGOLAN NEEDS AND AFRICAN HOPES AND FEARS. ONLY IN THIS WAY COULD THERE BE ANY REAL EXPECTATION THAT US CONGRESS WOULD LEGISLATE FUNDS TO HELP CAUSE OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND MAJORITY RULE IN ANGOLA AGAINST SOVIET-BACKED MINORITY WHICH IT SEEKS TO INSTALL AS ITS SURROGATE. IT NOT AT ALL HELPFUL THAT ZAMBIA ENTERTAINING CUBANS WITH APPARENT SHOW OF ONLY MINOR DIFFERENCES AT VERY TIME CERTAIN LIBERALS IN US CONGRESS MOUNTING MAJOR CAMPAIGN TO SUPPORT US ADMINISTRATION IN SEEKING MILITARY AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR ANGOLA TO HELP OUST SOVIETS AND CUBANS. ZAMBIANS SHOULD BE CONDEMNING CUBANS IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS RATHER THAN LETTING THEM OFF SO EASILY. WHY WAS ZAMBIA NOT SENDING TROOPS TO HELP ITS BROTHERS IN ANGOLA?

3. CHONA REPLIED BY BAITING CODEL WITH QUOTATION FROM LEE KUAN YEW OF SINGAPORE WHO WONDERED IF THIRD WORLD COULD REALLY COUNT ON WESTERN ASSISTANCE TO THE FINISH IN TIME OF NEED. CHONA MADE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL POINTS: WHY IS IT THAT TYRANNY TENDS TO ACT WITH ALL DUE HASTE AS IN SOVIET INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA, WHILE DEMOCRACY IS OFTEN HUNG P BY DEBATES AND BUREAUCRACY? ZAMBIA IS WELL AWARE THAT ZAIRE APPEALED TO US FOR HELP AND US SHOULD RESPOND. US HOULD ALSO HELP ANGOLA ON STRENGTH OF DIRECT APPEALS FROM ROBERTO AND SAVIMBI AND NOT INSIST THAT HELP DEPEND ON WHAT OTHER AFRICANS LESS DIRECTLY INVOLVED HAVE TO SAY. IT OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE THAT US ATTACH WEIGHT TO FACT THAT 22 AFRICAN NATIONS MADE HISTORY AT OAU SUMMIT IN ADDIS BY AGREEING WITH US POLICY ON ANGOLA. NEVER MIND IF 22 OTHERS DID NOT, FOR MANY AMONG THEM ALSO AGREE ON GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY IN ANGOLA BUT THEIR VISION AND REASON BLURRED AND EMOTIONS STIRRED OVER SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION. AS FOR ZAMBIA'S CONCILIATORY POSTURE TOWARD CUBA, CHONA TURNED TO ME AND TOLD CODEL US DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES UNDERSTOOD AND COULD EXPLAIN (LUSAKA 116). ZAMBIAN TROOPS WOULD
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 LUSAKA 00119 210206Z

NEVER INTERVENE IN ANGOLA.

4. CODEL ASKED FOR ZAMBIAN OPINION ON POSSIBILITY OF OBTAINING SAUDI ARABIAN FINANCING FOR PURCHASE OF SOPHISTICATED EGYPTIAN WEAPONRY FOR ANGOLA (WHICH SOUTH AFRICA DOES NOT HAVE) AND RECRUITMENT OF FOREIGN MERCENARIES TO FILL VACUUM IF AND WHEN SOUTH AFRICA WITHDRAWS, WHICH CODEL FOUND IS PRESENT MOOD OF SOUTH

AFRICANS. THIS COULD LAY GROUND, CODEL CONTINUED,
FOR MAKING DEAL WITH SOVIETS AND BUANS. CHONA
CUT CODEL SHORT BY SAYING HE UNINFORMED ON THESE
POINTS.

5. CODEL THEN ASKED CHONA TO TELL HIM WHAT HE MIGHT
SAY TO MISSISSIPPI CONSTITUENTS AND CONGRESSIONAL
OPPONENTS WHO ARGUE WHY AFTER VIETNAM SHOULD US GET
INVOLVED IN A PLACE THOUSANDS OF MILES AWAY WHEN
AFRICANS GENERALLY NOT ASKING US; BESIDES, WHEN THE WAR IS OVER
IN ANGOLA THEY WILL PROBABLY INSTALL SOME SOCIALIST
GOVERNMENT THERE WHICH WILL RECEIVE SOVIET AID BUT POSE
NO REAL SECURITY THREAT TO US. CHONA SAID HIS ONLY ANSWER
WAS TO ADVISE THESE AMERICANS TO LOOK AT SOMALIA, GUINEA
AND CONGO BRAZZAVILLE. DOES AMERICA REALLY WANT TO
CONDEMN MORE AFRICANS TO THAT FATE BY FAILURE TO ACT?

6. BOTH CHONA AND CODEL WERE CRITICAL OF CONGRESSIONAL
BLACK CAUCUS WHICH THEY BELIEVED LACKS THE FACTS ON
REALITIES OF SOVIET THREAT AND CUBAN PROXY, AND NEEDS OF
ANGOLANS TO DECIDE THEIR OWN FUTURE.

7. DEBATE WAS AMICABLE BUT SHARP POINTED WITH CHONA MUCH
MORE WASPISH THAN CUSTOMARY. CODEL CONCLUDED THAT FIGHT
FOR CONGRESSIONAL HELP WILL BE DIFFICULT; HE NOT VERY
SANGUINE BUT WOULD SUPPORT ADMINISTRATION POLICY SEEKING
NEEDED ASSISTANCE FOR ANGOLA.

8. JUST BEFORE EMBARKING AT AIRPORT, CODEL TOLD ME HE
ANXIOUS TO MEET ASST SECY SCHAUFLE SOON AFTER HIS RETURN
TO WASHINGTON FOR OPENING OF CONGRESS JAN 19.

9. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH PASS OTHER POSTS AS APPROPRIATE.
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PAGE 04 LUSAKA 00119 210206Z

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: LEGISLATORS, VISITS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: greeneet
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976LUSAKA00119
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760021-1032
From: LUSAKA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760144/aaaabnju.tel
Line Count: 155
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: STADIS, LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: STADIS, LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: greeneet
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 JUN 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01 JUN 2004 by ElyME>; APPROVED <23 SEP 2004 by greeneet>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: VISIT OF CODEL BOWEN TO ZAMBIA: DISCUSSION OF ANGOLA
TAGS: PFOR, OREP, AO, CU, EG, SA, UR, US, ZA, (BOWEN, DAVID), (CHONA, MARK)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006